Table I

Consonant Phonemes

	Labial		Dental		Alveolar		Retroflex		Fronto-palatal		Velar		Glottal	
	Vd	Vl	Vd	Vl	Vd	Vl	Vd	Vl	Vd	Vl	Vd	Vl	Vd	Vl
Stops	b	p	d	t			ḍ	ṭ	ǰ		g	k		ʔ
Spirants					z	s								
Nasals	m		n				ṇ		ñ		ŋ			
Laterals			l											
Trill			r											
Semi-consonant	w								y					

Table II

Vowel Phonemes

	Front Unrounded	Central Unrounded	Back Rounded
High	i		u
Higher-mid	e	ə	o
Low		a	

1.4. Inventory of Phonemes[5]

1.41. Abbreviations:

C	consonant	V__V	intervocalically
C^H	homorganic consonant	Bf.	before
V	vowel	Flg.	following
N	nasal continuant	E.	environment of...
#	silence (either end of utterance)	FV	free variant, freely varying
Init.	initially (i.e., after #)	( )	may or may not occur
Med.	medially	C__C	interconsonantal
Fin.	finally (i.e., before #)	Bet.	between

1.42. Consonant Phonemes (see Table I):

Phoneme	Environment	Allophones	
Voiceless Stops:			
/p/	(1) Med. Bf. C; Fin.	[$p^{\neg}$]	unreleased
	(2) elsewhere	[p^{c}]	aspirated
/t/	(3) Med. Bf. /b,r/; Fin.	[$t^{\neg}$]	unreleased
	(4) elsewhere	[t^{c}]	aspirated
/ṭ/	(5) Med. Bf. /k,l,r/	[$ṭ^{\neg}$]	unreleased, apico-palatal retroflex

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[5] The inventory presented in this dissertation constitutes a major revision of Remo phonology as presented in the writer's Master's Thesis. See Frank Fernandez, A Phonology of Remo: The Language of the Hill Bondo (unpublished Master's Thesis, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1963).

Phoneme	Environment	Allophones	
	(6) elsewhere	[ʈʰ]	aspirated apico-palatal retroflex
/k/	(7) E. front V	[k̟ʰ]	aspirated dorso-prevelar
	(8) E. central V; and once bet. #__/r/	[kʰ]	aspirated dorso-velar
	(9) E. back V; Flg. /n,ŋ/ Bf. #	[k̠ʰ]	aspirated dorso-postvelar
/ʔ/	(10) V__V	[ɋ]	lenis glottal
	(11) elsewhere	[ʔ]	glottal stop
Voiced Stops:			
/b/	(12) Med. Bf. /r,ɖ/	[bˀ]	unreleased
	(13) V__V; Flg. /ʔ/	[b̞]	lax bilabial
	(14) elsewhere	[b]	bilabial
/d/	(15) except Fin. (only found in loans)	[d]	apico-dental
/ɖ/	(16) V__V; Flg. /ʔ,b,g,m/	[ɽ]	apico-palatal retroflex flap
	(17) elsewhere	[ɖ]	apico-palatal retroflex stop
/ǰ/	(18) except Fin.	[ǰ̞]	lax fronto-palatal affricate
/g/	(19) E. front V	[g̟]	dorso-prevelar
	(20) E. central V	[g]	dorso-velar
	(21) E. back V	[g̠]	dorso-postvelar
Spirants:			
/s/	(22) Init. Bf. /i/ in unstressed syllables	[ʂ]	voiceless apico-postalveolar groove spirant

Phoneme	Environment	Allophones	
	(23) elsewhere[6]	[s]	voiceless apico-alveolar groove spirant
/z/	(24) except Fin.	[z]	voiced apico-alveolar groove spirant
Nasals:			
/m/	(25) E. #__C^{H}	[m̥]	vocalic
	(26) elsewhere	[m]	bilabial nasal
/n/	(27) E. #__C$^{(H)}$	[n̥]	vocalic apico-dental
	(28) elsewhere	[n]	apico-dental
/ṇ/	(29) E. #__C^{H}	[ṇ̥]	vocalic apico-postalveolar
	(30) elsewhere	[ṇ]	apico-postalveolar
/ñ/	(31) all	[ñ]	fronto-palatal nasal
/ŋ/	(32) E. #__C^{H}	[ŋ̥]	vocalic dorso-velar
	(33) elsewhere	[ŋ]	dorso-velar
Laterals:			
/l/	(34) all	[l]	voiced apico-dental lateral
/r/	(35) Bf. # (i.e., Fin.)	[r]	voiceless apico-alveolar trill
	(36) elsewhere	[r]	voiced apico-alveolar trill

[6] In final position, [s] varies freely with [š] in one word, i.e., [bois] vs. [boiš] 'moiety'; however there is one apparent contrast between [s] and [š] in the words [boiš] and [(is-] 'to harvest'. More data is needed to decide on the phonemic status of the segment [š].

Phoneme	Environment	Allophones	
Semi-Consonants:[7]			
/w/	(37) Med. and Fin. Flg. V	[^{u}]	high-back glide with lip rounding
	(38) elsewhere	[w]	high- or mid-back resonant with strong lip rounding
/y/	(39) Med. and Fin. Flg. V	[^{i}]	high-front palatal glide
	(40) #__/u/	[y]	high-front palatal resonant

1.43. Vowel Phonemes (see Table II):

Front Vowels:

/i/	(1) Init. and Med. Bf. C in unstressed syllables	[I]	lower-high front unrounded
	(2) elsewhere[8] (i.e., init., Med., Fin. in stressed syllables)	[i]	high front unrounded

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[7] Structurally, the phonemes /w/ and /y/ can be treated as prevocalic allophones of the vowel phonemes /u/ and /i/, respectively. In this study, we choose to treat them as semi-consonants instead so that we may more easily represent diphthongs within a syllable in contrast to cross-syllable vowel clusters. Thus, the phonetic clusters [i^{i}] and [a^{u}], for example, are represented phonemically as /iy/ and /aw/, respectively, instead of as /ii/ and /au/.

[8] In final position, but often also in initial and medial positions, the segment [i] occurs with a fairly strong high-front palatal glide, i.e., it occurs as a diphthongal vowel cluster. It can thus be represented as [i^{i}]. It is possible that these two segments occur in free variation in these positions. We choose here to use the single segment for both possibilities, assuming for the time being that both segments are in free variation.

Phoneme	Environment	Allophones
/u/	(12) all	[u] high-back rounded

1.44. Nasalization:

/˜/ (1) Med. /ẽỹ/ Bf. /ñ/

(2) /i, a, o, u/ and diphthongs /ay, oy/ Bf. # (i.e., Fin.)

(a) In six utterances (1 init., 3 med., and 2 fin.), a nasalized V occurs in FV with utterances containing a nasal continuant. The freely varying differences are due, apparently, to either the loss of nasality of the palatal nasal resulting in nasalization of the preceding V [see examples 1, 2, and 5], or to the loss of the nasal continuant also resulting in nasalization of the preceding V [see examples 3, 4, and 6].

(1) /ãyun/ in FV with /añun/ 'common fly'

(2) /kĩyar/ " " " /kiñar/ 'WiSi'

(3) /ñõḍa?/ " " " /ñoṇḍa?/ 'honey'

(4) /sõk/ " " " /sonk/ 'throat'

(5) /orõỹ/ " " " /oroyñ/ 'sickle'

(6) /ŋger-sũ/ " " " /ŋger-sun/ 'boy's dormitory'

(b) In three utterances, nasalized and non-nasalized /ey/ diphthongs occur. In two of these, /ẽỹ/ constrasts with /ey/ Bf. /ñ/, i.e.,

/tẽỹño/ 'anthill' : /geyñ-o?/ 'chewed' (3 per. sg., past tense)

/leympuŋ/ 'waist'

(c) Bf. # (i.e., in utterance-final position), nasalized vowels and diphthongs contrast with corresponding oral vowels and diphthongs, except for /ey/ which does not occur Bf. # in our corpus:

/ɪ/ : /i/ in E. /kw/__#	/nkwɪ/ 'Fa-in-law'; /nkwi/ 'YoSi'	
	/ḍoŋkwɪ/ 'HuBrWi'; /ḍionkwi/ 'married woman'	
/ã/ : /a/ in E. /s/__#	/busã/ 'GrFa'; /usa/ 'skin'	
/ũ/ : /u/	/ŋger-sũ/ 'boy's dorm'; /nsu/ 'knife'	
/õ/ : /o/ in E. /g/__#	/batu?gõ/ 'twins'; /tumuŋgo/ 'night'	
/õỹ/ : /oy/ in E. /r/__#	/orõỹ/ 'sickle'; /suŋroy/ 'bracelet'	
/ãỹ/ : /ay/ in E. /ḍ/__#	/o?õnḍãỹ/ 'baby'; /nsoŋḍay/ 'squirrel'	

(d) In two utterances, the diphthongs /ãw̃/ and /aw/ both occur before silence, i.e., /ḍumãw̃/ 'little', and /ḍaw-/ 'little' [as in /ḍaw-bay/ 'little' (adj)].

Phoneme	Environment	Allophones	
/e/[9]	(3) Flg. /ñ/	[æ]	higher-low front unrounded
	(4) Bf. /ʔ/	[ɛ˃]	backed lower-mid front unrounded
	(5) elsewhere	[ɛ̝]	tense lower-mid front unrounded
/ə/[10]	(6) Med. C__C, only in unstressed syllables	[ə]	mean-mid central unrounded
/a/	(7) Med. Bf. /y/	[a˂]	fronted, low-central unrounded
	(8) Med. Bf. /w/	[a˃]	backed, low-central unrounded
	(9) elsewhere	[a]	low-central unrounded
/o/	(10) E. of N.	[ɔ]	lower-mid back rounded
	(11) elsewhere	[o]	high-mid back rounded

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[9] The symbol /e/ is used in this inventory to represent [æ], [ɛ˃], and [ɛ] merely as a typographical convenience.

[10] The phoneme /ə/ has a very restricted distribution in our corpus, occurring only in unstressed syllables. Strictly speaking /ə/ occurs in complementary distribution with all other vowels, except for one apparent contrast with /a/, i.e., /pəsay/ 'bitter' and /pasəlatanja/ 'type of axe'. This apparent contrast may well disappear when the stress system of Remo is better known. However, since it is unclear at present to what vowel the 'schwa' should be assigned and, since there is at least one case of contrast, it seems least arbitrary for the present to assign the 'schwa' phonemic status of its own.

A GRAMMATICAL SKETCH OF REMO: A MUNDA LANGUAGE

by

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A thesis submitted to the faculty of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Department of Anthropology

CHAPEL HILL

1967

Approved by:

Adviser

This dissertation has been microfilmed exactly as received

69-1613

FERNANDEZ, Frank, 1931-
A GRAMMATICAL SKETCH OF REMO: A MUNDA LANGUAGE.

University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Ph.D., 1968
Language and Literature, linguistics

University Microfilms, Inc., Ann Arbor, Michigan

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